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THAT LONDON AGREEMENT

By FREDA UTLEY

WE ARE NOT YET living in an Orwellian world in which every term means its opposite. But there has for long been an Alice-through-the-looking-glass quality in our views and conduct of foreign affairs.

We don't pretend any more that the Soviet Union is peace loving, democratic, and "progressive," or that the Chinese Communists are nice liberal "agrarian reformers." But we go on with such other make-believe as that the United Nations serves the "cause of peace." Anyone who dares to say it is a fraud and a hoax is liable to be ostracized from decent society; whereas those who continue to ignore the facts of international life receive wide publicity for the nonsense they write and speak.

Take, for instance, the article by former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, published in the Washington *Star,* on October 8, 1954, under the title: "UN — Peace for One Thin Dime." True the Senator admits in his article that "You can't buy automatic peace for that or any price," but he goes on to say: "We are getting by means of the United Nations the biggest bargain in peace and security for freedom that the world has ever seen" — all for the cost of "one cup of coffee a year" for every American. The heir of the Cabots and the Lodges sounds for all the world like a quack doctor selling a bottle of rose-colored sugar water as a remedy for every pain or disease. But it goes down with a public fed on illusions, and so healthy and happy that it is not, as yet, aware of the need for real medicine, or surgery, to cure the world's ills.

The gravest danger lies in the fact that the fatuous nonsense uttered about the UN by wishful thinkers obscures the fact that all the UN has actually done is to help the Soviets "lull Americans into a sleep of death by talking peace until the Soviet Union possesses enough hydrogen bombs and intercontinental bombers to pulverize the air fields and productive centers of the United States by a sneak attack." I am quoting from Syngman Rhee's magnificent address to Congress on July 28 last.

Only a psychologist could explain why so many Americans like to depreciate their own efforts, accomplishments and sacrifices, and to pretend that the UN "preserved South Korea from Communist conquest." The facts are, of course, that the U.S. and ROK forces fought almost alone, and that we suffered the first grave military defeat in our history on account of the restrictions placed upon our fighting forces by the UN.

Part of the explanation or the lack of realism in American thinking is to be found in the propensity of our press to cater for profit to the human desire to believe that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. This must be the reason why the journalists, columnists and commentators who have been most wrong most often about most things

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continue to enjoy favor and material rewards. But the enjoyment of self-deception is a luxury which we can no longer afford.

THE MOST RECENT example of the wondrous way in which international organizations, conferences, treaties and agreements, are misrepresented to the American public as being what they are not, or as the opposite of what they are, is afforded by the London agreement, or accord, of October 3. Entitled "Text of the Final Act of the Nine Power Conference on Arming West Germany," it has been widely heralded as achieving that long sought aim of American policy; the establishment of a viable European defense by the Europeans.

But, if you examine the text of the agreement, you will find that it should have been called "Final Act on the Manner and Method of Preventing Europe from Raising and Equipping Sufficient Forces to Defend Itself Against Soviet Russia."

I am not exaggerating. The function of BRUTO (Brussels Treaty Organization), according to the text, is not to ensure the maximum defense effort of which its members are capable. Instead, its signatories promise to make sure that no one of them should ever *exceed* the low level of armies and armaments agreed upon. The "functions of the agency," as laid down in paragraphs one to twelve, are entirely negative. It is to ensure that the "prohibition of the manufacture of certain types of armaments" is being observed; to "control the level of stocks," etc., etc. Even "those forces remaining under national control" are not to have stocks of arms larger than necessary for their "size and mission."

Next, we find detailed provisions as to how inspection shall be carried on, not to ensure that each member of the defense community is fulfilling its military obligations, but to prevent anyone from being too well armed. The Brussels Council is to make an annual report "concerning the controls of armaments." Instead of seeing that the members fulfill their defense obligations it is to make sure that they do not overfulfill them.

Nor is this all. The worst provision of the London agreement is one which repeats the major weakness of the United Nations, namely the veto power given to any one member to defeat the purpose of the organization. It says: "The maximum defense contribution to NATO of all members of the Brussels Treaty Organization will be determined by a special agreement *fixing levels which can only be increased by unanimous consent.*" (Italics added.) This proviso gives France, or any other of the BRUTO members which may decide to act in Moscow's interests, the right to stymie European defense. It could, and probably will, give the Soviet Government the same veto power over European defense as it already enjoys in the UN over world security. The "neutralist" forces are growing in strength in Europe as well as Asia, thanks largely to our policy of rewarding our enemies and failing to support our friends. The London agreement gives them the right to prevent any increase in European armament which might "provoke" the Soviet Union.

Anyone reading the text of the London agreement, without having had his mind confused by newspaper comment, might well conclude that it concerns the containment of Germany, rather than the containment of Russia. And this, perhaps, thanks to France, is what it is. For, has anyone ever heard of a treaty of alliance which concerned itself,

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almost exclusively, with ways and means to *prevent* its members becoming strong enough to resist aggression? Yet such is the power of self-deception that President Eisenhower hailed the London Nine Power accord as the greatest diplomatic achievement of our time. Bearing in mind that "co-existence" has become the respectable word for appeasement, it is significant that Churchill proclaimed that the London accord "may well become a monument and a milestone in our march toward . . . peaceful co-existence."

TRYING TO CONTAIN Germany while using her to contain Russia is about as easy as squaring the circle. Trying to "harness" the Germans to a chariot driven by France, while also expecting them to fight with the martial spirit and patriotic fervor of a free people is obviously an impossible project. To quote Walter Lippman, "The reason that EDC failed, was that so many Frenchmen . . . were unable to believe that the harness could or would effectively limit the action of a rearmed and sovereign Germany." What he failed to say is that if the harness is strong enough to control the Germans it will also be too strong to permit them to defend Europe or themselves.

The plain fact is that Europe can neither be united, nor defended by its own forces, without the Germans becoming the paramount power. They are the only people on the continent of Europe capable of playing the leading role which France aspires to but cannot perform. This is because in addition to their military qualities, the Germans are still the strongest and most populous country with the most highly developed industry; and what is perhaps even more important, they alone have the organizing ability, technological know-how, vision and energy to make a United Europe a going concern.

An intelligent American policy would be designed, not to achieve an impossible objective, but to make the best of reality. And this means helping to ensure that the pro-Western elements in Germany keep control, so that German pre-eminence in Europe will be peacefully achieved by cooperation not domination. By attempting to force the strongest, hardest-working, most courageous member of the European coalition to submit to the weakest and least capable, we are going against nature; and we shall thereby inevitably bring back to power the Germans who believe that force alone can achieve anything, and may therefore eventually ally themselves with Russia, if only for the sake of self-preservation.

The youth of Germany, first disillusioned by Hitler and then by the stupid and cruel policies pursued by the United States after our victory, found a new ideal in the concept of a freely united Europe in which the age-old conflict of Gaul and Teuton would be forgotten, and Europe as a whole defended against the barbarians in the East. When France killed the EDC last August, the inspiring glow of this ideal faded away.

Although Dr. Adenauer may succeed in persuading the Germans to become members of BRUTO and NATO, we cannot expect that the youth of Germany will willingly enlist, or be drafted, into an army whose sole function would appear to be the defense of unreliable allies; and which is specifically precluded, by the London agreement, from ever being used in Germany's own national interests, however legitimate.

Specifically the Federal Republic pledges itself never to "have resource to force to achieve the reunification of Germany." Since the only alternative to force, or the threat of

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it, is to pay Soviet Russia's price, which at best would be German neutrality against us and at worst becoming a Soviet satellite, we are in effect telling the Germans that their only hope for reunification, and the liberation of their countrymen in East Germany, is submission to Moscow.

Men must have either an ideal or a national interest to fight for. We are kidding ourselves that we can revive the martial spirit and military genius of the Germans in our own interest, or in that of France and Britain, without giving them either; and while keeping them "in harness" or treating them more like prisoners on parole than free men.

The danger we face as the result of our muddled foreign policy is not that another Hitler will arise in Germany, or that "German militarism" will revive. Now that the Soviet Empire, thanks mainly to our folly and blindness, has become a menace to our lives and liberty far greater than Germany ever was, except in the imagination of the interventionists, we must face up to realities, or perish.

WE MUST REALIZE that peace cannot be bought for "one thin dime," or for billions of dollars generously given to "allies" who want peace at any price, and cannot be counted to stand by as we have stood by them. The American eagle alone cannot defend the herd of sheep which bleats about peace in the United Nations, while the Communist wolves devour all the lambs as the price for letting the sheep "co-exist" with them for a few more years. Perhaps we need a few lions and tigers on our side in the jungle of the modern world, even if they were our enemies in the era when "good old Uncle Joe" was our ally. But it is absurd to imagine that we can both "harness" them and expect them to fight for us.

Unfortunately, for most Americans, history begins in 1776, or, insofar as Europe is concerned, with the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 which is usually misrepresented as a Prussian attack on France, whereas, in fact, it was Germany's response to centuries of French aggression. If Americans studied history they might learn that "the Prussians" were for centuries the bulwark of Europe against the Slavs, while other Teutons (Austrians), held the line against the Turks.

It would seem that Mr. Dulles is more aware of realities than our former secretaries of state. It may even be that he has succeeded in knocking some sense into the heads of the French.

But if Mendes-France now appears to be playing along with us, we cannot afford to ignore the fact that the London agreement, even if ratified by the French parliament, fails to give any assurance that there is any banner in the West to which those who prefer death to slavery can repair.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* *Contributing Editors:* FRANK CHODOROV, WILLIS J. BALLINGER

Vol. XI, No. 42 Wednesday, October 20, 1954 Washington, D. C.

Frustration — East: Those who watch what's going on politically along the Eastern seaboard with clear vision laugh heartily at the official hand wringing over what is called "voter apathy." It's not apathy, it's frustration — realists emphasize. Masses of potential voters aren't even registering to vote, because "they have no place to go." The startling revelation that GOP gubernatorial candidate Ives in New York is running behind Democratic Averell Harriman (in the reliable *New York Daily News* poll) has inspired some furious thinking. Ives has always been touted as a fine vote-getter. And observers dwell pensively on the dip in registration figures in New York City — 12 per cent; and upstate New York — 6 per cent. More and more the "frustration" diagnosis gains acceptance.

Across the river in New Jersey, polls put the Democratic Senatorial candidate Howell somewhat ahead of GOP hopeful Case. The real pitch on what's going on in New Jersey, say well-informed observers, is that the Communists, through the old CIO-PAC apparatus, are swinging to Case. The actual facts and figures on Commie infiltration in the two parties and in the ADA in New Jersey are not available. For no real probe of the infiltration was possible under the "liberal" GOP state regime. But, students believe, it is considerable. Today, those who have for years watched the signs and portents of Communist subterranean activity feel that Commie weight is coming heavily down on the side of Case. They recall the eleventh-hour Communist switch in 1948 in California and other places to the side of Truman.

How many Republicans will vote for Democrat Howell in order to defeat "liberal" Case is hard to estimate. Many prominent Republicans privately spread the word that they will cast their ballots for the Democrat. How many voters the "rebel" organizations which have sprung up against Case will bring to the booths for Howell is difficult to say. A number of conservative Republicans, "tribal" Republicans, as the phrase goes, will swallow hard and vote for Case (merely because of the label). How many? That is also an imponderable. One thought is troubling some of the latter in the past few days, according to our telephoned report from Newark: it is becoming obvious that should Case win, his ADA backers would immediately set up a ballyhoo for "Case for VP in '56."

Frustration — South: In South Carolina, an extraordinary example of popular resentment against an apparent effort officially to "disfranchise" voters is raging, literally, (as we get the news over the phone from Charleston). Senator Burnet Maybank died unexpectedly on September 1 (after the usual primary — which is the "real" election in that, and other Southern states — had been held). The State Democratic Committee met and chose a local political boss named Edgar A. Brown as Democratic "candidate" to be voted upon at the November election. There is no Republican candidate — so Brown was seemingly already "in".

However, South Carolinians numerously and very vocally protested, angry that the State Committee refused to hold a primary — the "primary" being their traditional election day. Governor Byrnes and former Governor J. Strom Thurmond (presidential States Rights candidate in 1948) lead the insurrection, with the latter launching a "write-in" campaign. He is backed by those who revolted against the official Democratic endorsement of Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and most of whom voted for Ike. Brown, a machine politico, is widely unpopular, but has the support of the State Democratic organization, plus those Democrats who are either New Dealers or who wish to play with the Northern New Deal wing of the party. So the lines are formed.

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Unfortunately for the Byrnes-Thurmond people a "write-in" campaign is mechanically difficult and requires immense organization and propaganda. In any case, the statistics of the outcome should be interesting to those who study the national prevalence of "voter frustration." (As we close these forms, our correspondent in Charleston reports by phone to us that 14 of the 16 daily papers, and 73 out of 86 weeklies, in the state are behind Thurmond.)

Frustration — West: GOP leaders are very worried about the plight of Republican Senatorial candidate Joe Meek in Illinois, opposing incumbent Sen. Douglas. Odds have shifted now to Douglas. Reason: Meek changed his ground under White House pressure. He left for Washington to see Eisenhower, proclaiming he was an independent Republican; he returned to Illinois talking about how he was "shoulder to shoulder with President Eisenhower."

Meek originally won the nomination with a platform which was pro-Bricker Amendment, pro-McCarthy and anti-foreign aid. Then the White House Palace Guard, plus the "fat cats" dangling the campaign money, turned him around — so the story goes. Meek thereafter talked only of the Eisenhower program and forgot his former independent platform. By this time, the "fat cats" have double-crossed him; and consequently many of his original backers are deserting him. Unless he executes a somersault, say the political reporters, his chances are dim.

A letter from one of his own party workers tells one chapter of the story, as follows: "Douglas is spreading money around like water. Streetcars, els, the IC platforms and every blank wall in the city [Chicago] seem to have from one to five huge Douglas posters. Then he has just made a mailing to every household in the city, and you can guess what that costs! In addition he has oodles of radio and TV time, and almost none for Joe Meek. Joe simply has no money."

Some original Meek backers are sticking desperately to him, preferring him to Douglas. But here's one Republican from downstate, a disappointed supporter of Meek in the primary, who says: "Meek has reached the height of blubbering idiocy. 'He says it is possible to be a good Republican and be either for or against McCarthy. It is possible to be a good Republican and be for or against the Bricker Amendment.' Such nonsense has made a number of Illinois conservatives boiling mad and Meek can call Douglas a socialist all year and never get our vote. In fact there is a small group of us who are going to do what the people of New Jersey are doing, vote for the Democrat as the only way we can voice our disgust and disapproval of Meek's New Deal campaign."

Minnesota Story: In this strangest of all political campaigns, the oddest flash of all comes to HUMAN EVENTS from its Minnesota correspondent. Two weeks ago, Republicans were practically conceding that their Senatorial candidate, Val Bjornson, was beaten by the Democratic Senator Humphrey. Today, they have recovered hope. Why? Because an apparently grave split — which reportedly worries Humphrey very much — has just developed in the coalition Democratic-Farmer Labor Party of which Humphrey is the candidate for re-election. Last week, Frank Ryan, a labor leader filed on the ballot as an Independent Democratic-Farmer Labor candidate for Senator. He has a pro-McCarthy and violently anti-Humphrey platform. An extraordinary collection of Catholics and extreme left wing laborites join to support Ryan. Observers believe that Ryan can capture about 100,000 Democratic votes.

Ryan's left wing supporters (an estimated 20,000) are called "Trotskyists," an element which has caused much turmoil in Twin City labor politics in the past two decades. As "Trotskyists," they scent more keenly than others that their hated enemies the Commies want Humphrey elected. It should be explained to many Republicans, who deem the present campaign just another off-year election, that the world-wide struggle between totalitarian ideologies does not stop at Ellis Island, that the devious maneuvers of the two conflicting factions of American Communism are capable of using any ostensibly respectable party labels. Indeed, old students of Communist tactics here in the Capital suggest that the GOP National Committee might well scrutinize the reactions of "Trotskyists" (who inevitably take a course

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opposing what the Communists want) not only in Minnesota but also in such places as New Jersey (see our story on Case above).

Ike and Harry: Capital observers believe the President offered a salutary reminder to the farmers of the nation in his Indianapolis speech of October 15, in which he laid the blame for the falling farm prices on the policy of the Truman Administration "Every farmer knows why his income declined. Agriculture was losing markets and surpluses had never been faced head-on," said President Eisenhower. But the same observers believe that Truman's speech the next day in Kansas City probably served the Eisenhower campaign better. A revival of the old Truman technique of "give 'em hell" in this campaign brings memories of the disastrous record of "Trumanism," especially when the former President speaks of "blunder after blunder" of the present Administration. Harry is still a good forensic asset to the Republicans.

Judge Youngdahl: For some time whispers have been going the rounds that Judge Luther Youngdahl, asked by U.S. Attorney Leo Rover to disqualify himself from becoming the presiding judge when the Lattimore case is tried, was a member of the Americans for Democratic Action at the time he went on the Federal bench. A news article now turns up written by Earl Wingard, political reporter for the Minneapolis *Star*, on July 6, 1951 just after President Truman had appointed Youngdahl.

In it Wingard says: "Conservative Republicans in Minnesota, who have had to get along with the liberal Governor Youngdahl, a member of the Americans for Democratic Action like Senator Humphrey, had mixed emotions about the appointment." Revelation of this claim — that Judge Youngdahl was a member of the ADA which has clamored for recognition of Red China, attacked the FBI, and has pounded Senator McCarthy in general and in particular for initiating the present troubles of Owen Lattimore — is certain to add fuel to the fire which Rover has started.

U.S. Day vs. UN Day: Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah has refused to proclaim October 24 United Nations Day for his state and on October 6 issued a proclamation calling for a state-wide observance of United States Day on Saturday, October 23. Lee's proclamation was made at the request of the national United States Day Committee, whose Executive Director is Robert LeFevre (author of the best-selling HUMAN EVENTS article "Even the Girl Scouts"). The committee numbers among its members, Generals Mark Clark and Bonner Fellers, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Walter Harnischfeger of Wisconsin, W. L. McGrath of Ohio and Alvin Owsley of Texas.

Mr. LeFevre reports that, in addition to Lee of Utah, governors of 9 states have issued similar proclamations and others have promised to do so. Also mayors of many cities all over the country, he says, have followed suit. "The committee believes," says LeFevre, "that too many people nowadays have a tendency to give obeisance to the United Nations before the United States. You see some people putting the UN flag on top of that of the United States. When I went to school, we were taught that when the American flag was flown beneath another flag it meant that we had lost out. That makes my blood boil. The U.S. was a great nation before anyone had ever heard of the UN and it will be a great nation long after the UN is dead and buried."

Flanders: Americans in Germany were recently electrified by a front page interview in Frankfurt's leading left wing newspaper, the *Rundschau*, with Senator Flanders of Vermont. According to the *Rundschau*, Flanders favored neutralizing Germany. John B. Crane, an American whose column "Europe Day by Day" is syndicated in the American press, reporting this incident from Frankfurt remarks as follows: "This [neutralization of German policy] has long been the Commie line for solving the German problem. It is at least an interesting coincidence that the GOP Senator who has done most to attack Senator Joseph McCarthy, the Senate's leading crusader against Communism, grants an interview to one of Germany's leading left wing dailies and follows the Commie line in his view of the future of Germany."

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The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur, by Frazier Hunt. The Devin-Adair Co., New York. $5.00. Reviewed by E. Merrill Root.

Douglas MacArthur is our greatest living American. Great with sword and word, like Napoleon, yet he has a selfless devotion to noble meaning and a scorn of power which Napoleon never had; great soldier and statesman like Caesar, yet he is a man of spiritual creative faith, as Caesar never was. And he has fought the epic of two mighty wars: one against the outer enemies of America, in arms under the open sun; the other against the deadlier intrinsic enemies of America, who strike from a Lilliput of the shadows.

This book is the first great life of MacArthur. The soldier-statesman who is the last of the heroes finally has found a chronicler in the grand manner. Frazier Hunt, like Homer, can be clear and simple about stern and simple facts; but he can also rise to the clangor of trumpets and phrases terrible as an army with banners. Here is restraint and precision and quiet rectitude; here also are words rich with arterial blood, that, "if you cut them, would bleed."

Note his justice to the Japanese: "Xenephon's Ten Thousand might have a worthier cause, but they have no greater claim to the harsh immortality of arms than does this little band of two or three thousand ragged, stubborn, hard little men, writing their own deathless Odyssey on the Kadoa Pass." Note, too, the somber intensity: ". . . he [MacArthur] talked without restraint to a trusted member of his staff regarding his long years of struggle, and his many defeats and frustrations; and he spoke of his country's inadequate leadership, the terrible mistakes made in the war, and America's uncertain future." No special pleading, no hero worship, is needed for MacArthur; none is possible to the fine integrity of Frazier Hunt. He economizes (as Neitzsche bids us) "in the grand manner"; yet his intensity and vigor turn knowledge into wisdom and fact into art. Massive yet never heavy, the book mounts up as on the wings of eagles.

In content, the book is overwhelming and definitive. MacArthur speaks often — as he should: now with the clipped precision of logic, now with the eloquence of the hero who dares again blow Roland's horn. The quotations prove that the master of the sword was the artist of the word. The great deeds — myths for the poets of America's future — are superbly told with tough, spare candor, yet also rich, epic grandeur. The old lies-become-legends wither before the facts that are the stuff of the legends-of-truth: MacArthur's scorn of death, the stern glory of the escape by P. T. boats, the context of the remark about "getting the boys home." Truth, like the sun, signs itself with the initials of light.

The greatest gift of this great book is its projection of the hidden war, the secret American shame, "the untold story." MacArthur fought in the Pacific, with half a sword and no shield: why? Because the *talents* of the many gang up against the *genius* of the one? Partly: but that is human, honest jealousy; there is worse here. The powers of alien darkness; a secret subversion by a few in high places: the blind, credulous alliance of the dupes — pacifists, "liberals," intellectuals: the animosity of the idolaters of one world: such were the enemies of MacArthur — and of America. For example, MacArthur pressed to the Yalu because he knew unfettered air power could wreck any crossing; *he did not know — but the Red Chinese did — that he would not be allowed to use that air power.* Why? How?

Here is history made a work of art. This book is a *must.* If every conservative in the country does not buy it, proclaim it, and make this truth-teller a best-seller, we deserve the doom we shall meet. Here is Excalibur: let us use it to strike mighty blows.

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